

HARIJAN

Editor: PYARELAL

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[TWO ANNAS

Notes

Why for Harijans?

Q. "The Harijans are specially favoured by the Government. Special facilities are provided on an extensive scale for their education, employment and advancement. Why should you again seek our help on their behalf? There are equally poor and even poorer people among the *Savarnas*. Why don't you work for their betterment?"

A. This is a curious question. It is no wonder that Harijans are favoured by the Government. Whatever the reason, the fact is not to be deplored, if the favour really does them good. All Government favours do not. The motive behind seems to me to divide them from the so-called touchables. The reason lies with the latter. If touchables had not misbehaved themselves, there would have been no division possible. And even though the Congress has been championing them all these years, have the *Savarna* Hindu masses improved their manners? The answer has to be 'no' even though there has been considerable improvement. The Congress influence is most powerful for ending foreign rule. It is weak on social matters. Therefore, without entering into an unholy competition with the foreign Government, it is necessary for the reformers to do their duty by the Harijans until the bar sinister is completely removed. As for the *Savarna* poor, there are many to look after them. Some go to the extent even of spoonfeeding them.

Bombay, 16-3-'46

Shocking if True

The Joint Secretary of the Gujarat Harijan Sevak Sangh, Shri Hemantkumar, writes that apart from Karadi nowhere are temples open to Harijans and nowhere may they use public wells.

If this is true, I may say it is a good thing that I have been unable "to go to Bardoli. How can those Gujaratis who do not look upon Harijans as part and parcel of themselves, who do not permit them to draw water from public wells nor enter temples for the worship of God, who even attribute epidemics to Harijans and are prepared to beat them for practices which superstition attributes to them, how can they welcome me? Or what value can their welcome hold for me?

I have long since counted myself as a *bhangi* in my speech, in my actions and above all in mind and

spirit. Anyone who looks upon them with contempt does the same to me. Indeed I hold it an honour to be among the despised Harijans and among them *bhangis*. Any welcome to me under the circumstances would be tantamount to an insult.

Therefore, I make this request to Gujaratis that they atone for the grievous wrong they continue to do to fellow human beings I shall consider their repentance adequate when they admit Harijans into their fold and only then will I consider them capable of maintaining Swaraj. I do hope that the people of Bardoli Taluka will understand and respond to my message in a special manner.

Bombay, 11-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

Thoughtlessness

"You are aware that *pari passu* with the growth of popular outbreaks the lawlessness of the military is also becoming more and more brutal. You have condemned the hooliganism of the masses but you say nothing about the brutality of the military."

This is a specimen of thoughtlessness. People have no right to commit excesses whereas the military is the very embodiment of madness. Condemnation of military madness would be meaningless when the very institution of the army is condemned. But criticism of their conduct becomes necessary as a warning to the Government. There is a time and occasion for everything. It would be out of place when condemning popular excesses.

What is the duty of a Satyagrahi General? Should he reform his own army or that of the opponent? If he reforms his own the power of the opposing force is sterilized. If the process continues over a sufficiently long period the opponent is *ipso facto* completely transformed. The critic's remarks can only be meant for me. Others have already condemned military excesses. In my opinion we have not as yet got sufficient material to judge them. I expect that this is being prepared. The duty of the people, however, is to turn the searchlight inwards. Too much brooding over the wrongs of others is apt to lead one imperceptibly to act likewise. It would then be a case of the pot calling the kettle black.

Bombay, 15-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

M. K. G.

WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS

The following is the text of the four resolutions of the Working Committee passed on 15th and 16th March, 1946, at Bombay.

I

RESOLUTION ON FOOD

Whereas the war and its after-effects have already created a serious food situation which has been materially aggravated by the failure of rains in many parts of India, with the result that the country is faced with both a food and a cloth famine, it is essential that the policy of the Government and the people should be one at this time of crisis. Hunger makes no distinction between high and low, Hindu and Muslim, or any other. But the real burden of suffering, however, will inevitably fall on the poor. In the circumstances, the Working Committee would like to make its policy clear.

The first thing in these difficult times is for the people not to lose heart. Everyone should realize his personal duty and perform it to the best of his ability, believing that if everyone acts likewise India will be able to save thousands of poor lives. Every villager and townsman should, therefore, do the best he can for his neighbour and for himself.

Everyone who possesses any land should in the shortest time grow such foodstuffs on it as he can. Cultivable land lying waste should speedily be brought under the plough and every facility should be given for this purpose by the State. After fulfilling his own minimum requirements from his produce, he should make the remainder available for others who may be in need.

Preference should be given to food crops over money crops wherever practicable.

People should sink ordinary wells and dig tanks wherever there is scarcity of water and all facilities for this purpose should be given by the State and local bodies.

It is the duty of the rich today to live simply and divert their energy and wealth towards productive and constructive activities for the relief of distress.

Every effort should be made to secure supplies from abroad, but we should not feel helpless in any case. On the contrary, we must produce all we can in India and be prepared to face all emergencies with the resources available. It must be remembered that even the receipt of additional imports or the raising of additional crops will not serve the purpose in view unless the supplies reach the starving places in time and are equitably distributed there.

All food should be economically used and expenditure on occasions of marriages and other ceremonies must be avoided.

Processes of canning and preservation of fruit should be encouraged and widely adopted so that full use may be made of all available fruit and no part thereof may be wasted.

It is the duty of the State to put all their available resources of manpower, technical skill and mechanical appliances, whether civil or military, for growing, preserving and transporting food wherever necessary. All exports of cereals, foodstuffs, oilseeds, oilcakes, groundnuts, oil and other edibles should be absolutely prohibited.

The State should sink deep wells and adopt other means of water supply wherever necessary. Demobilized

and discharged personnel from the defence services, including the I. N. A. should be utilized for increasing the production of foodstuffs.

The Committee expects the nation to make all necessary sacrifices for relieving distress in the country and for making successful any reasonable schemes of rationing and procurement, any measures for checking hoarding, blackmarketing and corruption that may have to be taken on hand.

It is clear that just as it is the duty of the public to co-operate in all helpful ways, it is the primary duty of the Government to understand and fulfil the essential needs of the people. Measures for meeting the serious situation cannot be fully successful and effective unless power vests in the people.

So far as want of cloth is concerned, it is the duty of the State and the people alike to render every assistance to the villagers in order to enable them to produce by their own effort enough Khadi in the villages. The State should provide facilities for cotton-growing or cotton itself, and instruments of production and instructors where necessary.

Congress committees and Congressmen are advised to help in every way to give effect to the recommendations in this resolution.

II

RESOLUTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The Working Committee have noted with grave concern the growing tension in the international situation resulting in open recrimination between the great Powers and attempts on their part to secure or hold on to colonial areas and vantage points and create satellite States, which may lead to possible future conflicts. The war that has recently ended has, in spite of the professions made during the course of it, neither ended the imperialist domination of subject countries nor the era of power politics. The old imperialism still continues and in addition new types of imperialism are growing. The recent UNO Conference in London is startling evidence of the fact that instead of a new order of free and united nations evolving, there is disunity among the leading nations and lack of freedom over vast areas. Oil is still the lure of imperial domination, and security and preservation of the so-called life-lines of empty or strategic outposts are made the excuses for expansion as well as retention of colonial areas. This continuation of the old and discredited policy which has led already to two disastrous world wars is likely to result in yet another war on a more colossal and destructive scale.

It is evident that peace and freedom cannot grow out of these seeds of continuing conflict and war. Imperialist policy has to be discarded not only in the interests of subject nations, but also to rid the world of the peril that might overwhelm humanity. It has thus become urgently necessary to end foreign domination over the countries of Asia and Africa, and for foreign armies to be withdrawn from all such countries, and notably from Indonesia, Manchuria, Indo-China, Iran and Egypt. India still remains the crux of the problem of Asian freedom and on the independence of India depends the freedom of many countries and the peace of the world.

III

RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress are of opinion that the disabilities of the Indian settlers in South Africa constitute a blot on humanity and a slur on the civilization of the West. As the submission to His Excellency the Viceroy of the Indian Deputation from South Africa shows, the disabilities are an unbroken tale of progressive prejudice against Asiatics defined as "any Turk and any member of a race or tribe whose national home is in Asia but which does not include any member of the Jewish or the Syrian race or a person belonging to the race or class known as the Cape Malay", and of broken promises and declarations. A civilization that requires for its protection a series of legal enactments imposing political and economic restrictions on coloured and Asiatic peoples must contain seeds of future wars and its own destruction.

The Committee are of opinion that the contemplated breach of trade relations between India and the Union of South Africa is the mildest step that the Government of India could have taken. The Committee would ask the Government of India forthwith to withdraw their High Commissioner, if the Union Government would not suspend the proposed legislation, pending the convening of a Round Table Conference between the two governments to consider the whole policy of the Union Government against non-White peoples of the earth.

The Committee are painfully surprised to find Field Marshal Smuts, the Premier of the Union, dismissing, on the untenable plea of regarding the proposed anti-Asiatic bill as a domestic affair, the right of the Indian Government and, by parity of reasoning, of the other Allied Powers, of friendly intervention. The Committee hold that at this time of the day it is not open to any State, however powerful it may be, to refuse to listen to the public opinion of the world as voiced through its different States with reference to any legislation regarded by them as of an inhuman character or as amounting to a slur on the self-respect of the races comprising such a State.

The Committee venture to advise the victorious Allies to take notice of the contemplated action of the Government of South Africa inasmuch as the late war would have been fought in vain if now the persistence by the Union Government of South Africa in the bar sinister against Asiatic races and coloured people inhabiting that sub-continent is maintained.

To the Indian Deputation from South Africa the Committee would say that whilst they (the Committee) and, indeed, the whole of India, irrespective of parties or communities, are with them in their just struggle and would lend them all the moral weight they can, they should realize that the brunt of the unequal struggle will have to be borne by them, and the Committee feel assured that the Indians in South Africa will worthily carry out the example set by them years ago of vindicating their self-respect and that of the Motherland by the noble rule of self-suffering.

The Committee would, however, vain hope, even at the eleventh hour, that in the place of the indefensible law of the jungle, which the policy as revealed by the contemplated legislation enunciates, the Government of the Union of South Africa and its White settlers would

listen to reason and the appeal of the moral law by which mankind lives.

IV

RESOLUTION ON THE RECENT DISTURBANCES

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress are of opinion that the recent disturbances created by the people in Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and other places were in every way harmful and were an obstacle in the way of the Congress. These included arson and incendiarism whether of private shops or public places, looting, especially destruction of foodstuffs, frightening pedestrians, compelling people to shout slogans, compelling Europeans to remove their hats and otherwise molesting them. All these acts were manifestly against the policy of non-violence adopted by the Congress and were derogatory to national dignity. Whilst there is nothing but unmixt condemnation of popular frenzy, this Committee, without prejudging the military action taken in order to deal with the recent outburst of violence, are of opinion that the popular belief, generally and justly, has been that such action has been taken in excess of necessity and in order to strike terror in the hearts of the people and that therefore the military have bulletted passers-by or even innocent people, men, women or children standing in their own galleries. Any such action, at the present moment, instead of cowing down the populace, has the effect of infuriating it. The Committee, therefore, ask the Government to institute an inquiry into the military action taken in the various places and hope that the inquiry will be open and public and will have on it representatives with judicial qualifications and enjoying public confidence. At the same time the Committee hope that the people will observe restraint befitting the Congress and help the conference between the Cabinet Mission and the representatives of the people to carry on their work in a calm atmosphere.

Leprosy in Poona

In Poona is a group of leprosy patients and their children who have rented out tin-huts in a slum called *Kathadikhana* and live together as a colony. They live by begging. Some patients who were either thrown out of Khondwa Leper Home or came away from it started living together. They attracted to their group other patients who drifted into Poona, until today it is an interprovincial colony 85 strong (37 men, 31 women and 17 children). Some of them especially the women, reveal a story of desertion by their own families. They present a miserable sight of derelict and debased humanity. But I found amongst them an impressive fellowship and mutual helpfulness.

I fully realize the difficulties that will attend any efforts to give this group a more reasonable existence. It must be difficult to manage them, but they tell me they are willing to be helped. The fact that they have come together impresses me deeply. I see in their condition a call which we may not ignore. In proportion to the difficulty of the task should be our attraction to it. They should be helped to live better and their children should be saved from disease and destitution. Poona is a city of great traditions of social service and will it be too much to expect that this sacred spot of India hallowed with the memory of Ranade, Gokhale, Tilak, Devadhar and a host of other eminent social servants would rid itself of this malignant growth by providing these patients a place where they will find not only relief but work and at least partial self-support?

Bombay, 2-3-'46

T. N. JAGDISAN

HARIJAN

March 24

1946

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Course of events has raised the question of South Africa Whiteman's policy to the highest level. Unseen it holds the seeds of a world war. The threatened land and franchise bill which has brought the South African Indian Delegation to India, though superficially it affects the Indians of Natal and Transvaal, is in effect a challenge to Asia and by implication to the Negro races. India in her present exalted mood can view it in no other way. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is Indian to the core but being also an internationalist he has made us used to looking at everything in the international light instead of the parochial. India, weak physically and materially but strong ethically and numerically, has proclaimed from the housetops that her independence would be a threat to no one and no nation, but will be a help to noble effort throughout the world and a promise of relief to all its exploited peoples. Therefore, India regards the contemplated measure of the Union of South Africa as an insult and challenge to them.

The Indian Deputation see in the present measure not merely an assault on Indian property rights but also on their status as free men. They do not want merely to exist in South Africa. They need not have sent the deputation all the way to India for that purpose. They want to be in South Africa as equals of the European settlers of South Africa. They know that today they are not. But they must stop deterioration and hence move forward. In that forward march India will help of course. Indeed, all the moral forces will be at their call. The brunt, however, will have to be borne by them. They rediscovered the force of Truth (Satyagraha) and that will be their only and ultimate source of power. Time for it is not yet. Let us hope, it will never come. They have to try to gather together on their side all the moral forces of the world. They will have to clear the ground of all the weeds, all sordidness, all personal ambition which always and everywhere creeps in, if sleepless vigilance is not kept on the watch-tower. Imagine the plight of a poor barque sailing when the beacon light in front has gone out.

They must be prepared for accidents and consequent suffering. If they are in earnest and hardy enough to brave the worst, they are bound to come out the best in the end.

What about the Whites of South Africa? They invited the Indians in the first instance. If they had thought the invitees would always be like slaves or that they would not be followed by their free brethren, they (the Whites) were soon undeceived.

Does real superiority require outside props in the shape of legislation? Will they not see that every such wall of protection weakens them, ultimately rendering them effeminate? The lesson of history ought to teach them that might is not right. Right only is might. Field Marshal Smuts is a great soldier-statesman. Will he not perceive that he will be taking the Whitemen of South Africa down the precipice, if he persists in the policy underlying his measure? Let him take counsel with the Allies to whose victory on the battlefield he contributed not a little. He will surely throw away its fruits if he persists in his plan of protecting the civilization of the West by artificial means.

Poona, 18-3-'46

"A TEMPLE TO GANDHIJI"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Under this strange heading I read a newspaper cutting sent by a correspondent to the effect that a temple has been erected where my image is being worshipped. This I consider to be a gross form of idolatry. The person who erected the temple has wasted his resources by misusing them, the villagers who are drawn there are misled and I am being insulted in that the whole of my life has been caricatured in that temple. The meaning that I have given to worship is distorted. Worship of the Charkha lies in plying it for a living or as a sacrifice for ushering in Swaraj. Gita is worshipped not by parrot-like recitation but by following its teaching. Recitation is good and proper only as an aid to action according to its teaching. A man is worshipped only to the extent that he is followed, not in his weaknesses but in his strength. Hinduism is degraded when it is brought down to the level of the worship of the image of a living being. No man can be said to be good before his death. After death too he is good for the person who believes him to have possessed certain qualities attributed to him. As a matter of fact, God alone knows a man's heart. Hence the safest thing is not to worship any person, living or dead, but to worship perfection which resides only in God known as Truth. The question then certainly arises as to whether possession of photographs is not a form of worship carrying no merit with it. I have said as much before now in my writings. Nevertheless I have tolerated the practice as it has become an innocent though a costly fashion. But this toleration will become ludicrous and harmful if I were to give directly or indirectly the slightest encouragement to the practice above described. It would be a welcome relief if the owner of the temple removed the image and converted the building into a spinning centre where the poor will card and spin for wages and the others for sacrifice and all will be wearers of Khaddar. This will be the teaching of the Gita in action and true worship of it and me.

Bombay, 15-3-'46

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Q. You ask people not to eat polished rice but I fear the disease is too far gone. Polished rice is washed again and again and the water thrown away. It is then boiled and that water too is emptied into the drain thus depriving the cereal of all its vitamin value. The rice thus served, with each grain separate, is pleasant for both the eye and the palate. The practice obtains even in students' hostels. How are we to get rid of it?

A. I am aware of the above-mentioned mal-practice. We live in the poorest of poor countries and are yet unable or unwilling to give up such harmful habits. Each one thinks only of himself. We look upon our neighbours as strangers instead of as our kith and kin. What does it matter to us whether they live or die? If they die it is their own fault. If they live it is accredited to their merit. Life and death are not in our hands. Therefore, let us eat, drink and be merry!

In such a distorted view of life we have to follow what we consider to be our duty and believe that what is true will one day be followed. Until then, whenever occasion arises we must proclaim from the housetops what we consider to be right.

Q. You say that those who eat fish should be provided with the same. Does not this entail violence both for him who eats and him who provides the fish?

A. Both commit violence. So do those who eat vegetables. This kind of violence is inherent in all embodied life, therefore, in man too. It is in this condition and in spite of it that we have to practise non-violence as a duty. I have often indicated how we may do so. The man who coerces another not to eat fish commits more violence than he who eats it. Fishermen, fish vendors and fish eaters are probably unaware of any violence in their action. Even if they were they might look upon it as unavoidable. But the man who uses coercion is guilty of deliberate violence. Coercion is inhuman. Those who quarrel among themselves, those who will stoop to anything in order to amass wealth, those who exploit or indulge in forced human labour, those who overload or goad or otherwise torture animals, all these knowingly commit such violence as can easily be stopped. I do not consider it violence to permit the fish eater to eat fish. It is my duty to suffer it. Ahimsa is the highest duty. Even if we cannot practise it in full, we must try to understand its spirit and refrain as far as is humanly possible from violence.

Bombay, 11-3-'46

(From *Hariganbandhu*)

Q. You have declared that freedom seems to be near. But I cannot follow the point. The Pakistan problem is only one complication against you.

A. Hope knows no insurmountable complications. But why ask, when the answer will be known within a few months, if not weeks. And I am not the only optimist this time.

Bombay, 12-3-'46

DECIMAL COINAGE AND ITS COST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

After due sanction required by section 153 of the Government of India Act, 1935, a bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, is said to have been introduced in the Legislative Assembly on the 18th February, 1946. If it becomes law the rupee will be equivalent to 100 cents instead of 64 pice. The consequential changes will naturally follow. The object is stated to be:

"The existing series of small coins below four annas which were introduced as a war-time expedient, have proved unsatisfactory and unpopular, and the large recoinage programme which their reversion to the pre-war standards entails offers a unique opportunity for introducing a decimal system of subsidiary coinage in place of the present coinage system whereunder the rupee is divided into 16 annas and each anna into 12 pies. Modern trade and commerce demand speed and simplicity in the methods of computation, to achieve which there is nothing to compete with the decimal system which has gradually displaced all other systems in most of the advanced countries of the world. Public opinion has expressed itself largely in favour of the adoption of decimal coinage in India and the object of this Bill is to amend the Coinage Act for this purpose," and a note says:

"With the division of the rupee into 100 cents the existing coins will not correspond to an exact number of cents in all cases. During the transition period when both the anna and the cent coins will circulate side by side and prices might be quoted in terms of either, it is necessary to provide for conversion involving fractions of cents. As it is not proposed to issue cent coins of a smaller denomination than a half-cent, the Bill provides for conversions involving smaller fractions, to be made in rupees of any one transaction at the nearest half cent, and where the amount involved is a quarter cent to the nearest half cent below."

Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala has studied the question carefully and has come to the conclusion that whilst in the theory the introduction of the decimal coinage may be defensible, in practice for some years to come the poor will be sacrificed as usual in the interests of the modern trade, i. e. the rich merchants. It is unnecessary here to summarize his convincing argument in support. It is given in full in the columns of the '*Hariganbandhu*'. It is sufficient here to state that even in the country of the rulers the decimal coinage has not been introduced. Public opinion there commands respect and affects the decisions of the House of Commons. In India, public opinion, such as it is, has very little force and, moreover, the opinion of the millions who will be the sufferers is inarticulate. Shri Mashruwala very aptly points out that the poor will be taxed without the odium of additional taxation. Wisdom would have suggested that if the power is to be transferred inside of a few months to the representatives of the people, it would be improper for the Government to embark upon an

experiment even though claimed to be scientific and yet manifestly against the immediate interests of the poor. In a poor country like India, often, the immediate is, as in this case, the decisive factor. It is to be hoped that the Central Legislative Assembly will throw out the bill, if on re-consideration, the Government do not withdraw it.

Poona, 17-3-46

S. A. DEPUTATION'S SUBMISSION

Extracts from the South African Indian Deputation's submission to H. E. the Viceroy. The Deputation was led by H. H. the Aga Khan.

* * *

"3. The present intention of the Government of the Union of South Africa will, if carried out, degrade us to a status of inferiority against which we have put up a fight more definitely since 1893, the year in which an attempt was made to disfranchise the Indian community as such in Natal. We then looked upon it as a slur not only on the Indians in Natal but also on the Mother Country. Then there was no Union of South Africa. The Cape had practically no Indian question worth the name. Orange Free State had banished the few Indian traders it had and prided itself on its thorough anti-Asiatic policy. The Transvaal had a sprinkling of Indian traders, hawkers and others. The "location" system, later known as segregation, had its rise there. The Whites in Natal had deliberately and for their own sake invited the large number of indentured Indians for their sugar and tea plantations and other industries. In their wake followed the trader and others, and the Indian population today is therefore a composite one.

"4. One would have thought that the advent of Union would mean the Union of all the races of South Africa, i.e. the African (the Bantu), the European and the Asiatics (primarily and principally Indians). What a noble tradition such a union would have been for the world! But it was not to be. On the contrary, the Union became an anti-African and -Asiatic combine. Every year of the progress of the Union has definitely marked the progress of this combine, and the strenuous opposition to it by the Indian settlers and their descendants, as will be clearly seen by reference to the appendix "A" hereto attached.

"5. We ask Your Excellency to approach the question from that standpoint and no other. The threatened legislation adumbrated by Field Marshal Smuts, which has hastily brought the delegation from South Africa, is a very large step, perhaps the largest yet made in the process of consigning the Asiatics to permanent inferiority. The wedge has now extended into all round inequality and inferiority. Thus, there are zones of segregation, one of which the Whites are reserving for themselves in order to force by legal compulsion the segregation of the other races. God has made man "one great human family". The White races of South Africa would make of it three separate parts based on colour.

"6. Bad enough as the threatened land legislation is, the prospective franchise legislation is worse. It is a mockery of franchise and a poignant reminder of the low status to be accorded to us, so low that we

are not to be deemed even fit enough to choose one of our own as our representative.

"7. We have come all the way from South Africa not to seek protection of individual or property rights, dear as both are, but we have come definitely to ask Your Excellency and the people of the Mother Country to appreciate the fight for equality of status, which is theirs as much as ours, and to give us as much help as possible for you and them to give. What is attempted to be done in South Africa is a denial of the brave declarations made by the British and even the Field Marshal himself.

"8. It has given us much pleasure to learn that the withdrawal of the British power in India in favour of elected Indian representatives is imminent. Then, may we ask whether it is not Your Excellency's double and special duty to enunciate your stand in favour of equality and, so far as possible, enforce it in no uncertain terms?

* * *

"10. We would, therefore, ask Your Excellency to use your influence to secure the holding of a Round Table Conference between the two Governments to settle, in the words of the Natal Indian Judicial Commission, "all matters affecting Indians in South Africa". But should your efforts in this connection unhappily fail, then, we ask, in terms of our Resolution herein-before embodied, to withdraw the office of the High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa and to enforce economic and political sanctions. We are not unaware that they may mean very little material loss to South Africa. We know that counter measures will cause us hardship. But our loss we would count as nothing compared to the moral value of the enforcement of the sanctions."

APPENDIX "A"

Before 1893 Indians enjoyed in Natal both parliamentary and municipal franchise equally with the Europeans. They were first deprived of the parliamentary franchise in 1893, with the exception of those who were already on the voters' roll. But Indian protest was heeded and it (the Franchise Act) was vetoed by London.

Indians were successfully deprived of the parliamentary franchise in 1896 on the ostensible ground that they did not enjoy the privilege in India. They were deprived of the Municipal franchise in 1942 with the result that they ceased to influence Central, Provincial or the Municipal Administrations. Indian residential localities in Durban and elsewhere have consequently been grossly neglected by the local authorities.

Separate schools are maintained for Indians and in a few places separate hospitals for Indians and Africans. No Indians are admitted to the Natal University College.

In Railway trains Indians can generally only occupy special coaches reserved for them with non-Europeans, and in Government offices such as the Posts and Telegraph Offices, and Railway Booking Offices there are separate counters for non-Europeans. This method of discrimination is applied in Courts of Justice also.

Indians are almost completely debarred from employment in Government and Municipal services, except in

a menial capacity. There are, however, Indian teachers in schools etc. exclusively intended for Indians and so are employed Indian Interpreters in some law courts.

One of the few privileges which Indians enjoyed until recently in Natal was the freedom to purchase and occupy landed property in urban and rural areas, but the "Pegging Act" of 1943 has severely restricted the exercise of this privilege. Field Marshal Smuts has now made an announcement in Parliament that he would introduce new measures affecting Indians in Natal and in the Transvaal.

(a) In Natal the new legislation, which is to replace the "Pegging Act" lapsing on the 31st day of March 1946, will prohibit the acquisition or occupation of properties by Indians, except in certain specified areas.

(b) Whilst the "Pegging Act" is limited in its operation to Durban only and restricts transactions of fixed property between European and Indian only, the new legislation is to apply to the whole Province or Natal, both in urban and rural areas, and totally prohibits such transactions not only between European and Indian, but goes further than the present "Pegging Act" by making it unlawful for any such transactions between Indian on the one hand and non-Indian on the other, i. e. European, Coloured, Bantu, Chinese, Malay and other non-Indian races.

(c) In the Transvaal under the new legislation areas are to be set apart for Indians both for residence and trade in cities, towns, and villages, the effect of which will be to restrict, if not totally confine, trading activities of Indians to the areas assigned to them. Thus being removed some distance away from commercial centres and being out of touch with all other sections of the population with whom they have hitherto been transacting business, the Indian traders will face ruination.

Moreover, in regard to trade the Licensing Laws in the Transvaal operate very harshly against Indians, in that the Licensing Boards have absolute power to refuse license to Indians without assigning reasons therefor. The same is applicable in the case of transfer of Licenses from one person to another.

In Natal, as well, administration of Licensing Laws operates harshly against Indians, all based upon racial considerations.

(d) Indians in Natal and Transvaal are to be allowed representation in the Union Legislature on a "racial" basis, similar to that applicable to the Bantus and other natives of South Africa. The Indian community is to be represented by *three European members* elected by them in a House of more than One Hundred and Fifty (150) members.

These proposed measures will, if they become law, constitute a breach of the Capetown Agreement of 1927 between the Union Government and the Government of India, and will be a violation of assurances and pledges given from time to time.

Note: The Appendix takes note of some of the legal disabilities, both in Natal and in the Transvaal and by no means exhausts the catalogue of our disabilities, grievances and hardships. The other disabilities reflected in the conduct of the Europeans in various walks of life, though galling, have been purposely avoided.

GANDHIJ'S PRESS STATEMENT

Gandhiji has issued the following statement to the Press:

Shri Shriramulu is an unknown poor Congressman and servant of humanity working in Nellore. He has been labouring single-handed for the cause of the Harijans of that place. There was a time when high hope was entertained about removal of untouchability and other social work in Nellore. An *ashram* was built near Nellore but for a variety of causes the activity received a set-back. Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya was and still is, though very old, the moving spirit in connection with these activities. It is in this place that Shri Shriramulu has been quietly and persistently working for the removal root and branch of untouchability. He has been trying to have a temple opened to Harijans. He asked me the other day whether in order to awaken public conscience in favour of such opening he could, if all other effort failed, undertake a fast. I sent him my approval. Now the place is astir. But some persons have asked me to advise Shri Shriramulu to suspend his fast for removing legal difficulties of which I have no knowledge. I have been unable to give such advice. As I am anxious that an unobtrusive servant of humanity may not die for want of public knowledge and support I bespeak the interest of the journalists of the South, if not of all India, to find out for themselves the truth of the matter and, if what I say is borne out by facts, shame by public exposure the opposing parties into doing the right and save a precious life.

Bombay, 16-3-'46

[The foregoing statement was issued on the 16th instant. A wire was received today from Shri Shriramulu to the effect that he yielded to public pressure and broke his fast. I can be glad only if the ending of the fast means that the public has taken over the responsibility of having the temple opened without delay. Prof. Ramchandra Rao's letter received by me shows that there is a real legal difficulty about the opening and the principal trustee is pledged to have the formality gone through and the temple opened. It is to be hoped that the temple would be opened with the willing consent of the temple-going people. That can be the only meaning put upon the universal sympathy evoked by the fast. M. K. G.]

Poona, 17-3-'46

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RAMANAM, THE INFALLIBLE REMEDY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Ganesh Shastri Joshi, *Vaidya*, tells me after reading my article on Nature Cure in 'Harijan' of 3rd March 1946, that in *Ayurved* too there is ample testimony to the efficacy of *Ramanam* as a cure for all disease. Nature Cure occupies the place of honour and in it *Ramanam* is the most important. When Charak, Vagbhat and other giants of medicine in ancient India wrote, the popular name for God was not Rama but Vishnu. I myself have been a devotee of Tulsides from my childhood and have, therefore, always worshipped God as Rama. But I know that if, beginning with *Omkar*, one goes through the entire gamut of God's names current in all climes, all countries and all languages, the result is the same. He and His law are one. To observe His law is, therefore, the best form of worship. A man who becomes one with the law does not stand in need of vocal recreation of the name. In other words, an individual with whom contemplation on God has become as natural as breathing is so filled with God's spirit that knowledge or observance of the law becomes second nature, as it were, with him. Such an one needs no other treatment.

The question then arises as to why, in spite of having this prince of remedies at hand, we know so little about it and why even those who know, do not remember Him or remember Him only by lip service, not from the heart. Parrot-like repetition of God's name signifies failure to recognize Him as the panacea for all ills.

How can they? This sovereign remedy is not administered by doctors, *vaidyas*, *hakims* or any other medicinal practitioners. These have no faith in it. If they were to admit that the spring of the Holy Ganges could be found in every home their very occupation or means of livelihood would go. Therefore, they must perforce rely on their powders and potions as infallible remedies. Not only do these provide bread for the doctor but the patient too seems to feel immediate relief. If a medical practitioner can get a few persons to say "so and so gave me a powder and I was cured", his business is established.

Nor, it must be borne in mind, would it really be of any use for doctors to prescribe God's name to patients unless they themselves were conscious of its miraculous powers. *Ramanam* is no copy book maxim. It is something that has to be realized through experience. One who has had personal experience alone can prescribe it, not any other.

The *Vaidyraj* has copied out for me four verses. Out of these Charak's is the simplest and most apt. It means that if one were to obtain mastery over even one out of the thousand names of Vishnu, all ailments would vanish:

विष्णुं स्रक्षन्मूर्धनि चराचरपतिं-विभुम् ।

स्तुवन्नामसहस्रेण ज्वरान् सर्वाण् व्यपोहति ॥

Poona, 10-3-'46

(From *Harijanbandhu*)

CONVENIENCE Vs. NECESSITY

(By M. K. Ganani)

One whom many Congressmen know writes:

"As I was talking with you I realized how greatly you were worried about the condition of the masses today. Their capacity to express themselves violently is no doubt very disturbing and at times one is liable to feel, 'To what purpose non-violence all these years?'"

"When I search int. myself (and that is, I feel, the only way to know about the people) I find that during the last 5-6 years conflicting experiences have only strengthened my faith in non-violence. I, and so many others, perhaps for the first time peeped over the precipice—intellectually even travelled in the dark valleys below—and I am convinced that that way salvation does not lie. And do you know, Bapuji, that there are thousands like me who have had that experience and reached the same conclusions? Up till now your voice used to be but a soothing balm to our frayed nerves and refreshed our souls; but non-violence was only a matter that we had to put up with in order to retain you as our general in battle.

"But now to thousands like me non-violence has become the Life Force that alone is capable of creating democracy and humanity. Our non-violence now is a matter of conviction and not a matter of convenience or cowardice.

"But then there are others who have not had the capacity to understand the fundamentals. They are still thinking in terms of power and organization for power. I personally feel that that is a phase in their development and that the experience and urgency of those that have learnt their lesson will count greatly in making even these see reason.

"There are also many that are confused with this game of politics and find it difficult to square it with the non-violent way or are rather confused by the spectacle of many attempting to square non-violence with the game of politics. This all leads me, personally, to the conclusion that Voltaire reached at the end of *Candide*: "Il faut cultiver notre jardin" (It is best to cultivate one's own garden).

"I feel that we are fighting a war for humanity and that we have many a battle to fight—this being only the beginning of the first one—that we have far to go, that only with rugged fearless experience and perhaps a few stumblings shall we be able to grow into non-violence.

"Perhaps there are many who experience my difficulties."

Bombay, 14-3-'46

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